1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

or winnower jointly from their fathers or have recently purchased the item together. There are neighboring households which, for the sake of convenience, purchase some implement which none of the participants could or would have purchased independently. Finally, there are men in the village who are friends and join together to buy an expensive implement like an insecticide sprayer which they can all take turns using. Villagers who are friends usually influence one another. For example, several good friends in the village all grow the same vegetables for market sale. Village men who are good friends and share economic interests have many economic and social ties between them.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Most of the village families raise some livestock. They may include pigs, fowl, some rabbits and goats, and a few water buffalo for work purposes. (See Table 12.) Livestock is generally not considered

TABLE 12

SURVEY OF NUMBER OF LIVESTOCK OWNED BY 87 HSIN HSING VILLAGE FARM FAMILIES, AUGUST, 1958

Livestock	Number
Water buffalo	17
Pigs	241
Chickens	361
Ducks	372
Geese	131
Rabbits	52
Goats	11

an important source of household cash income. Even the many pigs raised in the village (241 in August, 1958) are not considered a source of real income, since the villagers feel that raising pigs is more "like putting money in the bank." The reasoning behind this commonly made statement is that the price the butcher pays just about covers the money and time it costs to raise the pigs. Thus, when a farmer raises pigs he knows that as soon as the animals are sold he will have a sum of money at his disposal; it is, therefore, a sort of enforced saving. Usually the money has long since been earmarked for some special project—to build an extension to the family's house, to pay the expenses of an engagement or marriage, or to pay off a loan. However, if there is an impending marriage in the family, it is usual to slaughter one or more pigs for use in the marriage feast. Thus, when a village woman was asked when her twenty-two-year-old son would be married,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

231 [454] she answered, "when the pigs are big enough." In explanation she continued, "Do you think that a poor family like ours could afford to *buy* two pigs in order to give our son a proper wedding?"

Almost every family in the village raises at least a few pigs. They are of three types: the native Taiwanese, the Berkshire, or a crossbreed of the two. These pigs are kept in sties which are typically constructed [343] with mud floors, bamboo sidewalls and straw roofs; they are either attached directly to the side of the house or situated several yards away. Some rather recently constructed sties in the village, however, are more modern; they are specially designed with cement or brick [474] floors and walls and cement tile roofs. The local Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association usually subsidizes the construction of a few such sties in each village every year, paying about one-quarter of the total cost of construction.

For the most part, the care and feeding of pigs is the responsibility of the village women and older children. Much time is spent preparing pig food. This consists of sweet potatoes and certain green vegetables grown especially by the farmer for his pigs and other livestock. This is all cooked in a starchy water called "rice soup," which is the water in which the family's rice is washed before it is cooked. According to the [474] Farmers' Association and government agricultural agencies, it is not [232] necessary to cook pig food, but their word has not been very effective [172] in the village. Most villagers, despite the great amount of time it [178] takes, still continue to follow the traditional way of preparation in the belief that pigs will not grow fat on raw sweet potatoes.

Every few days the pig sty is cleaned out. This is usually done for [241] the important purpose of collecting the excrement and the rice straw, which partially covers the floor, for use as fertilizer. Compost is made from the dung and used for various crops. Uncovered compost heaps are usually found alongside the pig houses, and it is not unusual for some garbage to be added to the heap. Children as well as fowl can often be seen climbing on the open compost heap.

[232] When a pig becomes ill it is common to call a local veterinarian. Sometimes the farmer himself will give the sick pig a shot of the penicillin which can now be readily purchased in Lukang.

Possibly as a result of a lack of selective breeding, a somewhat inadequate diet and inadequate use of antibiotics, unsanitary living conditions and the climate, pigs in Hsin Hsing usually take from nine to fifteen months to reach full size, a good deal longer than similar breeds take in America. When a pig does reach full growth, a tax must be [651] paid by the farmer to the government at the Public Office before it is [432] slaughtered. The tax must be paid whether the farmer is selling the pig or using it for his own purposes. Pigs are usually sold to a butcher from a village in the area or from Lukang.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

in three market towns or cities: Yuan Lin, almost fifteen miles from the village; Chang-hua, about ten miles; and Taichung, about twenty-five miles. Often some of the men in Hsin Hsing who grow the same vegetables cooperate in the marketing operation. Since the market price is usually about the same in each one of the three markets, the men agree in advance where each will go to sell his vegetables. This prevents any one market from being flooded with a vegetable and thus lowering the price. The choice of market is arbitrary, and if one man happens to get a better price for his vegetables, he is considered lucky, and no more is thought about it. Perhaps the next time the men will change markets.

If the villager has a large enough load to take to the wholesale market, it may take him several days to sell his vegetables. In that event he usually sleeps in the market unless he happens to have some relative such as a *ch'in ch'i* in the town with whom he can stay; a hotel is considered too expensive. A few villagers ship vegetables like peppers or cabbages by truck freight to more distant markets in the cities of Kaohsiung or Taipei. This is done with the aid of a vegetable broker with whom they have made contact; he also takes care of the sale of the vegetables in the market for a percentage of the profit. The villager and the broker use the mails to maintain contact about prices and shipping arrangements. Although only a few villagers now work with a broker, it seems likely that more will adopt the method, for it permits the farmer to sell to the best advantage in different parts of the island.

After a farmer harvests his rice crop he dries it in the sun and stores it either in bamboo-and-mud bins in the house or else in very large, round, white-plastered bamboo or wooden storage bins in front of the house. This latter method is mostly used by those farmers who produce a large amount of rice. The rice is held in these storage places until it is time to make payment in kind for land rent, land taxes, or for fertilizer. The number of these large rice bins that now go unused and unrepaired is evidence that the villagers are right when they say they were able to keep and store much more rice for later sale on the market under the Japanese.

After the operating expenses are paid and any surplus is sold, the remaining rice is stored unmilled for the family's use. As it is needed, the villagers have their rice milled, usually in the next village, at a cost of about NT $2 for every one hundred *chin* of rice. Of one hundred *chin* of unmilled rice, approximately twenty *chin* is lost when the rice is husked and polished. The husks then belong to the mill, but the farmer can take home the product of the polishing, the ground rice powder, to feed to pigs and other livestock. The farmers usually purchase the husks from the mills to use as fuel for cooking stoves.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

work. Sometimes, however, a man who is building an addition to his house may just hire a few village men during the agricultural slack season and pay them a fixed wage for the day's work, about NT $15–20 a day.

Today only a few villagers grow sugarcane. The period of harvesting for cane varies according to the time of planting, but usually it comes during what is normally a slack farm season. The sugar company, which contracts with the farmer to have him grow sugarcane on his land, regularly sends specialists to the fields to determine when the sugarcane is at its peak of readiness for harvesting. Usually, a field planted in sugarcane is relatively large, and may require a group of as many as thirty or forty people to harvest just under one *chia* of land. The group is generally hired from one of the very large villages in the area that is populous enough to supply the entire team. This labor team works as a single group of men, women, and young people, which is broken up into smaller crews according to function, such as cutting the cane, gathering it and tying it in bundles, or putting it on the oxcarts which take it to the railway line for shipment to the sugar company factory. The whole group is paid a lump sum for division among the members and is fed only refreshments in the field, not a whole meal. Hsin Hsing villagers are very seldom members of a sugar-harvesting labor gang.

THE FARMERS' ASSOCIATION: AN "EXTERNAL" FORCE

The Farmers' Association has been important in the Taiwanese rural area since Japanese times. Under the Japanese regime the local farmers owned stocks or shares in the local district associations, and Hsin Hsing villagers feel that the association was run partly by the Japanese government and partly by the farmers. In those days the government attempted to introduce new farm techniques and crops to the farmers through the association.

Today, the work of the local district Farmers' Association has become more important than ever. The Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association has several large buildings which are used for offices, meeting rooms, classrooms, and warehouses for the storage of rice and farm equipment. The provincial Food Bureau lends some financial support to the association for the building of the warehouses where the large amounts of grain collected from the farmers as tax are stored for the bureau by the association. Almost all the villagers who cultivate land and are therefore classed primarily as farmers belong to the Farmers' Association. In order to become a member, the farmer must purchase at least one share of association stock at a price of NT $5, a low fee which virtually guarantees that all farmers will become members. On

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

the basis of the profits of the Farmers' Association, dividends in the form of towels, soap, or tea sets are regularly given to members.

The members of each village unit of the Farmers' Association elect a "small unit head" who is the Farmers' Association's agent in the village. It is his job to distribute association literature and to notify the members of meetings and classes. It is also his job to record the amount of land for which each farmer wishes to obtain fertilizer from the Food Bureau through the auspices of the Farmers' Association in exchange for rice. Although the unit head used to receive NT $50 a month to cover his expenses, in 1958 the arrangement was changed so that now he receives only the actual office supplies necessary for his job. In each village in Pu Yen Hsiang, the unit head is given a radio by the Farmers' Association for his use as long as he holds the position. He also regularly receives a newspaper, which is an organ of the provincial government, and *Harvest Magazine*.

The members in each village elect one representative for every fifty members to the association's governing body. These representatives in turn elect a supervisor, who then appoints the General Secretary who actually runs the *hsiang* Farmers' Association. The General Secretary is the highest paid employee of the organization and is in charge of the many other paid employees. The main duty of the representatives is to attend the annual meeting of representatives to vote on the yearly program and budget which has been worked out by the General Secretary and his staff.

Today, most of the villagers and employees of the Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association feel that the local units are relatively independent. However, there are Farmers' Associations on the *hsien* and provincial level which are supposed to "teach" and to lead the operation of the local organizations. The local units in turn pay fees to the higher level units. In addition, there is a section in both the *hsien* and provincial government's agricultural departments which deals with farmers' organizations and supervises the operations of the Farmers' Associations. Thus, there is control of the operations of the local Farmers' Associations by these three higher levels. The monthly program, budget, and proposed special programs of the local associations are first discussed in local committee, and then the proposals and budget are sent to the Hsien Farmers' Association for suggestions and to the government agency for approval, changes, or rejection.

Both farmers and staff members of the association generally seem to agree that such guidance and supervision by upper levels of the government is a good thing. It is felt that the supervision of the *hsien* government is grounded in the law and assures the farmer that the programs and large amounts of money handled by the Farmers' Association will be properly administered. However, since the organiza-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

T
423
427

annual main crop, the new owner is mentally in a better situation, and socially he has climbed to the rank of owner-farmer.

T
423
434
452

Often, villagers who have purchased land under the reform program do not really consider themselves its owners. Besides knowing that they are not yet reaping any increased income from the land, many have a "seeing is believing" attitude. They will believe that the government has made it possible for them to own the land when they no longer have to pay on the mortgage and when they earn an income from the land equivalent to what an owner-farmer earns. They recognize what the future may hold for them as "real owners," but, in the meantime, the burden is extremely heavy.

T
434
454
511

Villagers who work outside Hsin Hsing have done more to raise the standard of living than has the decrease in tenancy. The increased use of cash has also led to an apparent rise in living standards. In Japanese times, villagers tended to save their money toward future land purchase. Today, people no longer save money for fear of inflation; instead, they are using their cash to purchase tangible goods—bicycles, more and better clothing, and so on, are increasingly in evidence in the rural area.

THE NATURE OF PRIVATE-OWNERSHIP LAND

I
Im
423

The 29.5567 *chia* of privately owned land in Hsin Hsing village falls into three categories: (1) individually owned, 35.3 percent of the total private land; (2) jointly owned, 61.5 percent of the total; and (3) corporate or community owned, only 3.2 percent of all the private land owned. (See Table 24.) This classification and the percentages for each type in Hsin Hsing approximate the situation in Taiwan as a whole (T'ang, 1954:98–107).

The system of individually owned land is rather simple, since it consists of portions of land legally owned by one individual who, in most cases, represents a family. On all land records this land is always listed in the name of that one owner. As can be seen in Table 24, very little of the land individually owned in Hsin Hsing is house or road land; it is almost all cultivated land.

Joint-ownership land in Taiwan is one of the most complex forms of private ownership to record and keep track of. It is a common phenomenon making up the largest percentage of the privately owned land in Hsin Hsing as well as in Taiwan. A plot of land is owned jointly by from two to hundreds of individuals. Each joint owner will own a portion of the plot—one-third, one-fifth, or one-twelfth, and so on. In many cases, in Hsin Hsing at least, the joint owners do not own equal shares. Each joint owner may work his share independently or in small groups according to family relationship.

Under the land reform record-keeping system, rather than register-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

Tn 423 475 652

For the most part this was achieved after 1953 by transferring the stockshares of such enterprises as paper, mining, and cement to former landlords in payment for their government-purchased land (Chang, 1954:77–79; T'ang, 1954:164–173). But it was clear from the outset that some of these enterprises were less profitable than others and, as far as the landlords were concerned, less acceptable (Chang, 1954:79). Although it was common knowledge that many of the stockshares they received were not worth face value, the landlords could do little but grumble and complain.

T Tn 423 455

After the issuance of the stockshares, business speculators frequently toured the countryside, telling the unwary stockshare holders that the value of the shares they held was very low. They offered cash for these shares at a slightly higher price than they were actually worth, and some landlords in the Hsin Hsing area sold out. Later, they learned that the stock values had risen and that they had been "cheated." This happened mostly to small landlords who lacked business experience. It added to dissatisfaction over the land reform and the feeling that the government had ruined the landlords.

T 423 556

A middle-aged man from one of the formerly big landlord families in the Hsin Hsing area spoke critically of the Land Reform Program and of how it hurt the landlord. Despite his bitterness, however, he admitted that "now the landlord no longer can spend all his time playing around drinking, gambling, and seeing shows. Now, in order to live, he must go out to work and do business. In the old days if the landlord played a lot and needed more money to finance his entertainment, he could just raise his rents."

T Tn 423 454 552 556 171

But, much more important, the Land Reform Program had a major effect on the landlord class in the Hsin Hsing area and possibly in Taiwan generally, and as a result a major effect on the general economy of Taiwan and thus on life in many villages. Before land reform it was traditional in China for the wealthy to buy land for investment or simply for purposes of security. To these landlords, and especially to many urban people, the Land Reform Program made it evident that it was no longer profitable nor even safe to invest their capital in the land. Instead, these people, in addition to their forced participation in industry through being paid in shares of stock for expropriated land, have now in many cases begun to shift their excess capital willingly into industrial, commercial, and small business activities in urban centers and in the smaller market towns. When money was invested in the small market towns, it usually went into financing light industry or small businesses and often meant that the investor needed new technical knowledge. In some cases, the landlords or their sons became greatly involved in business activities, gradually sold off portions of the three *chia* of land which they had been allowed to retain under

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

the land reform act, and used the money for additional investments.

Many former landlords have done poorly at business, and some have even failed because of their lack of experience and training. Others have maintained their economic investments in the villages. Several formerly large landholders in the two villages adjacent to Hsin Hsing continue their activities in their villages and the surrounding area very much as before. Although their landholdings were cut significantly by the land reform, they nevertheless retain their maximum three *chia* of land. Also, in some instances, a number of landlords prior to the 1953 act managed to retain control of more than the three *chia* limit by legally dividing their family and then transferring portions of their land to the names of other members of their family. By virtue of their positions many landlords, especially those who worked as minor officials or civil servants in the local administration or who were well acquainted with officials, became aware of the ins and outs of the proposed land reform laws and so knew exactly how to manipulate their landholdings legally in order to retain as much land as possible.

Even today landlords may, and do, buy land in excess of three *chia* and then hire laborers to till it for them. As long as they do not rent the land out they seem to be safe from legal action. A few landlords who manage to buy additional land are still doing so in the names of other members of their family and in such cases then actually rent the land out to tenants. But it appears that the fear of another Land Reform Program in the future, as well as the increased movement of the landlords' economic interests outside the rural area, serves to deter many landlords from attempting to reaccumulate landholdings, even by the devious but legal means.

Another frequent activity of landlords who have chosen to maintain their economic interests in the Hsin Hsing area is that of moneylending. The small farmer, having little to offer as security, still continues to resort to the local moneylender for cash or other loans. The local moneylender lends fairly large amounts for longer periods of time than any agency of the government or association but, of course, at extremely high interest rates.

The landlords will continue to engage in moneylending as long as the farmer has credit difficulty. If a good profit can be made from moneylending, it is evident that the wealthy landlords will not willingly transfer their economic interests into more productive economic activities.

Traditionally, the village landlord has played a major role in the leadership of his village and its immediate vicinity. During the Japanese period, such leadership roles were greatly reinforced by the Japanese, who preferred to handle village problems through the wealthy landlord class rather than by dealing directly with the "peas-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Such purchases have a surface appearance of legality, but, strictly speaking, they are not. According to the 1953 law, land purchased from the government under the act can be sold by the original purchaser only after he has become a full owner by completing the twenty payments to the government. In current practice, the purchaser, using a middleman or a land broker, secretly gives the owner enough rice or money to cover the outstanding payments to the government. In addition, he gives him more money or rice to cover the payments already made, plus a substantial bonus. When all the remaining payments have been made, usually in one lump sum, the land is officially turned over to the new owner. By law he must be able to till the land himself. This should eliminate the likelihood of landlords engaging in such transactions. In Hsin Hsing village this method has so far been limited to the small landholder who through expanding financial resources has been able to buy additional land to support an expanding family. Such people cannot easily acquire land through completely legal means because of the decreased turnover of land since land reform.

However, some landlords in the area not only manage to purchase such land reform land by this method but manage to buy back their own land which, expropriated by the government, has since passed through several hands. They may then even rent it out, even though the law says that such expropriated land can only be sold to someone who will till the land himself. According to a reliable informant, this can be managed when the land has passed through several hands since 1953, so that the government agencies have lost track of it and are no longer aware of the history of its transfers. The Land Office responsible for such land can easily lose track of it. The land tenure data are recorded in the Land Office in so many different books and cards that it is difficult to maintain any adequate check on the transfers of individual plots of land. Besides this, not all the data are accurate, or even kept together in one office. In the Hsin Hsing village area for example, some records are kept in the Lukang Land Office and some in the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office, according to a system for recording land tenure data prescribed by the provincial Land Office in Taipei. In addition, there seems to be little investigation by land agents of the ownership of lands in the area.

Probably the greatest source of purchaseable land since the land reform is private-ownership land which formerly belonged to large landholders. At the time of the expropriation in 1953, many landlords got their start in outside business or commerce, and many have since proved successful. As a result, many of them have sold more and more of the three *chia* of land which the 1953 law allowed them to retain, using the money for further investment in business or light industries. In the Hsin Hsing village area the lands of such former landlords have

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Taipei to sell out their land and leave the village entirely. Such cases have even included joint families, where the whole family, including the old parents, have made the move.

Such increased out-migration of whole families has thus resulted from both the scarcity of available land and the apparently adverse effect of the Land Reform Program on the possibility of acquiring land for purchase or especially for rent. Just as many landlords now realize that the accumulation of land is no longer a safe capital investment, many villagers, who in the past sought social mobility through increased landholdings, now see this avenue as relatively limited. Increasingly, they now look to other nonagriculturally-based sources of livelihood and social mobility.

It appears then that much of the villager's traditional sentiment for his land and, to a lesser extent, his ancestral home not infrequently takes second place if there is a surer way of earning a livelihood and accumulating status and wealth. Again, as we have seen, even landlords who traditionally had the greatest sentiment and attachment for family and ancestral home have now in many instances been selling off their remaining landholdings as more secure and lucrative economic opportunities present themselves in the city.[8] This pattern is not perhaps so unusual; after all, many overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia as well as in Taiwan who left their homes on the mainland and made their fortunes abroad never returned to China but later had their families join them.

The families which prosper in Taipei undoubtedly prefer life there to what they had in the village, but there are still many villagers who work and live in Taipei only because they cannot manage to earn enough to support their families on the land. With very little land in the village, they have no capital to invest, and once in Taipei they must take whatever work is available. The people say that a villager who goes to Taipei as a coolie laborer, as most do, "usually goes as a water buffalo." Such men may very well prefer to stay on the land, but they have no alternative. Although they dislike working in Taipei as "beasts of burden," they frequently complain (along with the villagers who remain tied to the land) that a farmer's life is hard and bitter. "A farmer must go to the fields and work very hard even in rainy or windy weather. He must irrigate the fields if the crops need water, and sometimes pedal water all night to irrigate the fields. In addition, he must pay rice to the Farmers' Association [meaning the Provincial Food Bureau] for taxes and in exchange for fertilizer. In other words, the Farmers' Association takes the rice away from the farmers after they harvest their crops."

At the same time, the villager who remains on the land has dreams of "glory" for the next generation. He usually does not want his son to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The night before the wedding day, starting at midnight, a *pai-pai* is held at the boy's home. A Taoist priest (*tao shih*) officiates at the ceremony, held in honor of T'ien Kung to thank him for guarding the boy so that he could reach marriageable age, and prayers are said for the future of the boy and his family. At the same time, many lesser gods are invited to the *pai-pai* to be worshipped, and statues of these gods (which may belong to other villagers) are brought to the ancestral-worship room of the boy's home. The village orchestra performs during most of this ceremonial to entertain T'ien Kung. Many expensive foods, including at least one whole dressed pig and goat, bottles of wine, and a good deal of paper money are offered in honor of the gods and their soldiers and horses. (A description of the Taoist pantheon is found in Chapter 8.)

The *tao shih* invites the gods to partake of the sacrifices and transmits to them the prayers of the family. In the course of the ritual the *tao shih* and the participating members of the family, including the groom and his father and brothers, simulate trips to heaven and to the underworld to communicate with the gods. A shaman, known as *t'iao t'ung* (his broader functions are also described in detail in Chapter 8), accompanies them on these "trips." He is possessed by a local, less powerful, and important god known as an ambassador god and thus acts as the intermediary between the family and the higher gods. "After all," queried a villager on this point, "can a common man go directly on his own to see and talk with an emperor?"

Much of the food offered at the *pai-pai* is sent the next day as gifts to the girl's family; during the next several days it is fed to the guests who attend the wedding festival as well as the many people, usually *ch'in tsu* or fellow villagers, who help in the preparations and entertainment of the guests at the girl's village. The cost to both sets of parents is very great, and the poorest families save for a long time or borrow money in order to have a proper wedding festival.

While the boy's family is holding the *pai-pai* on the night before the marriage, the girl's family is busy with preparations for the next day. When the marriage broker, accompanied by the carriers bearing more gifts, and the village orchestra arrive, they are fed in the girl's village. Then, they help the girl's family load the many carts with her dowry and the sweet cakes which accompany the bride when she goes to the groom's village in her sedan chair.

The vehicles which carry the gifts to the bride's family and take the dowry back to the groom's village are either rented wheeled carts drawn by men hired in Lukang or trays carried on poles by the groom's *ch'in tsu* and/or fellow villagers. Only a wealthy family can afford to use the many hand-carried trays, since all the carriers must be fed banquet food and those who carry heavy items are given *hung pao* (money wrapped in a red paper packet). Far fewer wheeled carts are

182 59 181 family's giving serious consideration to many socially acceptable alternatives.

511 [184] [182] [121] The most obvious reason for this concern with social continuity and the reason which is most easily stated by the villagers themselves, is economic security. The village of Hsiachichou is not impoverished, [262] but neither is it affluent. The line between the rich and the poor separates those who eat rice at a meal and those who must mix their rice with sweet potato. As the villagers themselves would put it, "Everyone here has something to eat, but no one can afford to eat out [485] of the middle of the pan." With the exception of those families who have the advantages of neither land nor education, and who are as a result forced to earn a living as coolies or coal miners, the people of Hsiachichou are able to support themselves fairly comfortably. [342] [209] [216] The majority of village houses are constructed of brick with sturdy tile roofs; many village families own a radio or phonograph; a number of families have their own water supply in the house and one has installed an electric pump; and all but the very poorest of village families own at least one bicycle, adequate if not comfortable furniture, and are able to meet their social obligations with appropriate gifts [454] and invitations. What the average family in Hsiachichou does not have is the financial ability to accumulate savings. Their income is adequate to feed, clothe, and house themselves in a reasonably comfortable manner, but there is no surplus out of which a family can create a [926] reserve. When faced with a major expenditure occasioned by a serious illness, a marriage, the funeral of a senior member, or the need to

nothing less than a small fortune. A go-between acting for some local party could usually get as much as a year's income for a male child, and dealers who bought male children on Taiwan for resale in Amoy would sometimes offer even more. The returns from the sale of a male child would at the very least enable a family to replace a thatch roof with tile, and it might even finance the purchase of a small plot of land or provide the capital for a small business undertaking. Since a family's regular income went almost entirely for food and other daily essentials, it was only by such means that a family might obtain the capital for any major investment. We must also remember that it was not the parents of the child who decided his fate. Most children are born during that phase of the family cycle at which their grandparents are still alive and active, and in the years before 1930 this senior generation had complete and final authority over all decisions concerning marriage and adoption. Although one can understand that a parent with only one male child would be reluctant to sell him for any price, one can imagine that a grandparent with several grandchildren might find it somewhat easier to part with one of his sons' male children.

While there were good reasons for a family to sell one of its male children, there were even more important considerations weighing against such a decision. As we have seen in the last chapter, male children are the focal concern of the Hokkien family. It is by means of his male descendants that a man fulfills his most important responsibilities as son and grandson, and it is with reference to his male offspring that a person calculates the achievement of his own lifetime. If a

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

admit at this point to a strong prejudice against Tan A-hong. I could find in her no redeeming qualities. Her life has been hard and full of frustrations, but it was a way of life she chose in preference to that of marriage. She did not allow her daughter that choice.

Tan A-hong's latest return to Peihotien was primarily at her daughter's urging. To bring her mother north, Chun-ieng gave up a good, secure income in one of the best houses in Tainan and complicated a personal love affair that mattered a great deal to her. Her motives need little explanation: A-hong, as with many women her age and, in particular, women who have been prostitutes, is a habitual gambler. She gambles as long as she can find money and players. When she runs out of money, she sells anything at hand, borrows from anyone foolish enough to loan, and begs from those who refuse loans. Chun-ieng's beauty and vivacious personality provided her with a very good income, but her mother was spending the majority of it in the expensive twenty-four-hour gambling houses of Tainan. Chun-ieng had trouble meeting ordinary living expenses. So, she persuaded her mother to sell her small house, invested as much of the money as she could get away from her into gold (the landless person's only insurance against inflation), and moved her to Peihotien. While Chun-ieng went on to Taipei to find work, her mother searched out the small gambling dens of Hotien.

Their status as guests in the Lim house had no effect on the quarrels between A-hong and Chun-ieng. They were loud and bitter. One night when Chun-ieng returned from Taipei after an absence of a week, she was greeted with the news that her mother had lost over NT$700 in two nights of gambling—nearly a week's income for Chun-ieng and almost a month's income for the average family. Chun-ieng tactlessly demanded that her mother turn over the remainder of the money she had received from the sale of the house. A-hong, of course, refused. "This is my money. Why should I give it to you? Sure, I gamble, but what about you? Don't you ever gamble? You say you want to buy gold with it! Huh! You just want to spend it. You have your own money if you want to buy gold, and you already have plenty of gold hidden away, too. I want to keep my money. Maybe I'll buy some gold, too."

Chun-ieng answered her wearily, "All right, I'm not going to argue with you. I'm too tired. I just wanted to say something about it so that people would know I tried and would not blame me."

592 to have a male manager. This is probably related to the
[596] uncertainty and irregularity of income and the planning needed for the investments in seed, fertilizer, and insecticide before returns are achieved.

592 Although not displayed in Table 4, there is no
591 relationship between the sex of the manager and a residence pattern of matrilocal as opposed to patrilocal.[6] I felt that matrilocal households would probably have a higher incidence of female managers than patrilocal households but this was not supported (see Chapter V).

592 All money earned by household members is considered to belong to the family pool which is managed for the overall good of the household. The male head, whether or not he is the manager of the pool, is expected to have a regular personal allowance and any unmarried son or daughter who has a job and is contributing to the pool should also have a regular allowance and money should be set aside for their weddings (bride price or dowry as the case may be). Only women and children who do not work have no regular allowance.

592 There is one regular exception: married women
593 make brooms and straw hats in their spare time and the
[824] money they earn for these activities does not go into
[412] the family pool nor is anyone in the family supposed to
291 question what the woman does with this personal money.
[262] She may spend it for family treats like flavored shaved
426
454
838

592 ice, she may spend it on herself by buying a luxury item
593 like a piece of jewelry, or she may just put it aside for
[262] security in her old age and also invest it in money lend-
426 ing clubs (see Chapter VI) or the post office. Several
454 women have accumulated quite large sums of personal money.
888

Although some village men have evening part-time activities that produce income, the money earned thereby is expected to go into the regular family pool. Thus, although men can more easily tap the family pool for their own wishes, only women have a source of money and retain savings which is exclusive.

Household Budgets

511 The following section contains a discussion of the yearly income and expenditures of the Liao Mou-tu family which was previously introduced as one of the wealthiest
[592] in the village. Members include Liao Mou-tu, his three sons, their respective wives, and the four children of each son for a total of 19 people (see Figure 5). The figures in Table 5 are rounded for convenience and include a profit and loss statement and statement of net worth. Currently, the family has no meaningful debts.

511 The family netted about $6,500.00 for the year as
592 indicated in Table 5. Since there were four adult males,
462 the money they expended hiring farm laborers about equaled the money they earned by hiring out. The three wives in

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171]

511 592 462 the household are also important contributors to income by means of a rotating division of labor. One is responsible for the children and cleaning for five days; one is responsible for cooking and washing; and one is free to work in the fields. Every five days they switch jobs although all three prefer the relative freedom of the work in the fields. There are five other such rotating work teams in the village and many other pairs who share some rotating responsibilities.

511 Although the Liao Mou-tu family does not appear to have earned a meaningful surplus, the figures are deceiving for the family has invested very heavily in the orange trees (requiring much labor) which have not yet reached full production. Also, this past year, they jointly with Liao Mou-tu's brother, cleared and prepared land and planted [454] 600 banana trees although none have yet matured. The family will soon move into a much higher income bracket but has firm plans to continue investing any surplus in land and land development.

The above family might be contrasted with that of Liao Kao-mu who lives near the temple and represents the [592] middle status level in the village. His household in- 511 463 465 cludes his mother, wife, and two female children. He owns .3 chia of mountain field on which he has planted oranges but which as yet have produced no return and he commutes 24 days per month to Taipei where he is employed as a

Chapter IX: Cycles in Time

0001 The date for celebrating the traditional religious holidays is determined by the lunar calendar and the modern national holidays, i.e., Restoration Day, Chiang Kai-shek's Birthday, etc., by the solar calendar.

2 See Burkhardt (1955: Volume II, Appendix II) for a complete diagram of the Ten Celestial Stems and Twelve Earthly Branches which are combined to make the full sixty-year cycle which takes its name from the first term, chia tzu.

3 There are poems and short books which specify the nature of each of the animals much on the order of the astrological horoscopes in the West. Since an animal is repeated every twelfth year, the year of a man's animal is considered extra lucky.

[177] 4 Under the Japanese, there was a policy of celebrating solar New Year while the Chinese emphasize lunar New Year. In the latter part of the occupation, there was some celebration of both dates but in the village at present, little attention is paid to the solar New Year.

5 The particular date, exactly 105 days after the Winter Solstice, varies.

[196] 6 Repetition of a word changes it meaning in Chinese; in the case of nouns or adjectives for example, the strength of the power or quality is increased.

7 Normally, baths are only taken in the evening after dinner is over and the day's work is complete although most people wash in the morning.

8 Negative numbers are yang and positive numbers are yin in one scheme but more commonly, even numbers are yang and odd numbers are yin.

Chapter X: Summary and Conclusion

[463] 1 The only occupations traditionally open to women were concerned with procreation and sexual life: matchmaking, prostitution, procuressing, and midwifery (Lang,1946:42).

2 The data is recorded in a family history and another family history she is said to have brought up to date contains a sample as does a memorial board she is said to have prepared.

3 Naturally this ignores the obvious and necessary physiological differences between the two sexes.

4 This is based on an assumption that children were most likely in school between the ages of six and twelve.

[454] 5 A man in T'oulei once won a government lottery and invested the entire large amount in land.

6 There are many existing biographies of the emperor's consorts. For a review of palace intrigues occurring